# DEVELOPMENT IN TIMES OF TRANSITION: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF RAKHINE STATE, MYANMAR

**WORKING PAPER**

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# LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome

ANP Arakan National Party

ART Anti-Retroviral Treatment

BEAC Bid Evaluation and Awarding Committee

BSPP Burmese Socialist Programme Party

CDNH Centre for Diversity and National Harmony

CFZ Costal Fishing Zone

CITIC China International Trust and Investment Corporation

DPT3 Diphtheria, Pertussis, and Tetanus

EPZ Embankment Paddy Zone

FEER Far Eastern Economic Review

GAM Global Acute Malnutrition

HDDS Household Dietary Diversity Score

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IAZ Inland Agriculture Zone

ICG International Crisis Group

IDP Internally Displaced Person

IHLCA Integrated Household Living Conditions Assessment

LIFT Livelihoods and Food Security Trust Fund

LPG Liquefied Petroleum Gas

MICS Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey

MMK Myanmar Kyat

MoU Memorandum of Understanding

MSF Medécins Sans Frontières

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

NLD National League for Democracy

PMTCT Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission

PPP Purchasing Power Parity

PTU Project Technical Unit

SAM Severe Acute Malnutrition

SEZ Special Economic Zone

TLC Temporary Learning Centre

TVET Technical Vocational Education and Training

UNDP United National Development Programme

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations Children’s Fund

UNOCHA United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian

Affairs

USD United States Dollar

USDP Union Solidarity and Development Party

WASH Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

WBG World Bank Group

WHO World Health Organisation

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Located in the western part of Myanmar, Rakhine (Arakan) state occupies a unique geographic position in the Southeast Asian region. Historically, the ancient Arakanese kingdoms served as an important bridge between the Islamic civilizations to the west and the Buddhist tradition to the east. Despite its low level of economic development, Rakhine serves as an essential political as well as economic corridor for Myanmar, connecting the country to regional centres in Africa and the Middle East, as well India. The state is rich in natural resources, and has emerged as a popular tourist destination in recent years, opening up its pristine beaches and archaeological sites to the world.

Decades of political turmoil as well as Myanmar’s exclusion from the world economy have left Rakhine impoverished, a pattern of socio-economic exigencies that are quite similar to those faced by other regions within the country. However, the state has also dealt with sporadic episodes of communal conflict and violence between the ethnic Rakhine Buddhists and Muslims. Since the outbreak of violent riots in 2012, more than 140,000 people have lived in temporary displacement camps in various parts of the state. Furthermore, it is estimated that overall more than 300,000 people in Rakhine are currently in urgent need of humanitarian assistance, a majority of who are concentrated in Northern Rakhine.

The purpose of this report is to inform donors, aid agencies, government ministries, and other key stakeholders interested in the socio-economic status of Rakhine state over the last five years. Rakhine, along with the rest of Myanmar, now stands at the threshold of a new political reality that has the potential to transform lives. In these times of rapid transition, it is hoped that this report can provide interested groups and individuals with necessary facts about Rakhine and its people. The report is divided into six sections focusing on history, demographics, the economic context, the social context, conflict, and a fact sheet for quick reference.

# RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This report has been written with the overall objective of informing relevant stakeholders, including donors, aid agencies, government ministries, and other interested individuals and/or groups who wish to learn more about the current socio-economic status of Rakhine state. The report combines quantitative data from a variety of different sources, as well as qualitative information which serves to provide context to the former.

The report also serves a few specific objectives:

1. On key social and economic indicators, the data presented aims to provide a comparative outlook with the Myanmar national averages.

2. The methodology used (described below) serves to extract the most *reliable* and *readily available* data on the region to ensure validity.

3. The report also aims to provide the most up to date information that is currently available, within the parameters of reliability and validity.

4. The report however, is not designed to be prescriptive. It is instead hoped that the data presented in this report can be used to aid any prescriptive exercise in the future.

5. The report does not intend to reflect the views and opinions of any particular organisational/institutional entity, and tries to achieve this through a mix of information drawn from government, independent research, news media, and international and local NGO sources operating in the region.

This report has been visualised as a document that shall remain ‘work in progress’ as more socio-economic research and data becomes available on Rakhine state. For this reason, we welcome continued feedback from all interested parties.

# METHODOLOGY

The report is designed to ensure reliability and validity, and relies on a broad-based literature review of relevant publications from different sources. The sources used include government reports, publications produced by think tanks, research institutes, international organisations and local NGOs, and international and local news media. The choice of sources was guided by the reliability of the source (organisational as well as individual in the case of news media), and the time frame within which a particular publication was made available to the public. Where possible, this report has tried to use the most recently available statistical data, while at the same time ensuring that the reliability and validity of the source is not compromised. This report does not make use of primary data, although some contextual research was carried out by the author over the course of writing this report through a field visit to Sittwe, Rakhine state in February 2016.

One of the main aims of the chosen methodology is to present the data as it appears in the source, and subsequently attempt to provide relevant insight into any significant variations that exist (particularly statistical variations among sources). The overall methodology however, is not guided by an aim to be prescriptive. It should be noted that since information has been extracted from sources that were based on different individual methodologies of their own, terminological differences often arise within this report. Where possible, such differences have been highlighted in the footnotes. However, it is not an aim of this report to account for these differences.

Although a key aim of this report is to help the readers make comparisons with available data, the aforementioned variation in source methodology might limit the extent to which this is possible. Nonetheless, this report tries to ensure that where comparisons are made, data is drawn from the same source, or sources that have been produced in a similar time frame.

A key limitation that directly affects the twin aim of reliability and validity is the dependence on government sources for important census data. It should be recognised that currently available data from the Government of Myanmar excludes a section of the population in Rakhine state (classified as non-enumerated in census reports). The data presented is therefore often skewed in favour certain populations. This report tries to overcome this by presenting information from other sources, wherever possible and desirable.

We also recognise that there still exists a wealth of information on the region that has not been incorporated into this report, and it is hoped that readers might find the section on *Further Reading* useful in this regard.

# RAKHINE FACT SHEET

**Capital**: Sittwe

**Population**[[1]](#footnote-1): 3, 188, 807 (total); 1, 526,402/47.9% (male); 1, 662,405/52.1% (female)

**Urban Population**[[2]](#footnote-2): 354, 288 (17%)

* **Urban Centres (% of urban population in each district)**[[3]](#footnote-3): Sittwe (25%), Maungdaw (23%), Thandwe (17.8%), Mrauk-U (13.5%), Kyaukphyu (10.1%)

**Rural Population**[[4]](#footnote-4): 1, 744,519 (83%)

**IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) Population**[[5]](#footnote-5): 118,084

**Ethnicities**[[6]](#footnote-6): 60% (Rakhine), 30% (Muslim), 10% (Chin, Kaman (also Muslim), Mro, Chakma, Dainet, and Maramagri)

**Religion**[[7]](#footnote-7): 65% (Theravada Buddhism), 30% (Islam), 5% (Hinduism, Christianity, others)

**Administrative Divisions**[[8]](#footnote-8): 5 districts (Sittwe, Mrauk-U, Maungdaw, Kyaukphyu, Thandwe), 17 townships:

* Sittwe (Sittwe, Ponnagyun, Pauktaw, Rathedaung)
* Mrauk-U (Mrauk-U, Kyauktaw, Minbya, Myebon)
* Maungdaw (Maungdaw, Buthidaung)
* Kyaukphyu (Kyaukphyu, Mannaung, Rambree, Ann)
* Thandwe (Thandwe, Taungup, Gwa)

133 Wards, 1040 village tracts, 3931 villages

**2015 Election Results[[9]](#footnote-9): Amyotha Hluttaw or Upper House** (Arakan National Party or ANP, 10 seats; National League for Democracy or NLD, 1 seat; Union Solidarity and Development Party or USDP, 1 seat)

**Pyithu Hluttaw or Lower House** (ANP, 12 seats; NLD, 4 seats; USDP, 1 seat)

**Rakhine State Legislature** (ANP, 22 seats; NLD, 9 seats; USDP, 3 seats; Independent, 1 seats; Military Appointees, 12 seats)

**2016-2017 State Budget**[[10]](#footnote-10): MMK 145 billion (USD 118 million)

**Poverty**[[11]](#footnote-11): 78% (World Bank, 2014), 43.5% (UNDP IHLCA, 2011)

**Income sources**[[12]](#footnote-12): Casual labour (26%), fishing (26%), small non-agricultural businesses (15%).

**Maternal Well-being**[[13]](#footnote-13): 1.4% (mortality); 88.7% (ante-natal care visits); 11.7% (births in health facility)

**Child Well-being**[[14]](#footnote-14): 7.5% (under-5 mortality); 37.4% (underweight); 49.9% (stunting); 10.8% (wasting); 99.4% (immunization)

**Malnutrition**[[15]](#footnote-15): 4.5% (severe acute malnutrition, rural camps); 14.4% (global acute malnutrition, rural camps), 3.1% (global acute malnutrition, urban camps)

**Adult Literacy**[[16]](#footnote-16): 80.1% (Union average 95.8%)

**Net enrollment**[[17]](#footnote-17): 71.4% (primary), 32% (secondary)

**Natural Resources**[[18]](#footnote-18): Petroleum, natural gas, hydropower, industrial minerals

# SECTION ONE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF RAKHINE

Throughout its history, Burma has witnessed a fluid movement of populations across borders, and Rakhine state is no exception. It should be noted at the very outset however, that much of this history remains contested, and multiple Rakhine identities have existed simultaneously during different moments in history.

## *1.1 Pre-Colonial Period (327 AD - 1826 AD)*

Prior to 1989, Rakhine was known as the Arakan State. The pre-colonial history of Arakan consists of five historical periods, beginning with the ancient Arakanese kingdom of Dhanyawadi. The centre of Arakanese subsequently moved to Waithali around 4th century AD, and subsequently to Lemro. Little historical evidence is available about the ancient Arakanese kingdoms that existed before the kingdom of Mrauk-U was established in 1430 with the military assistance from the Sultan of Bengal.[[19]](#footnote-19) The kingdom went through an initial period of subordination to the Sultan, and hence even Rakhine Buddhist kings are thought to have adopted Muslim titles.[[20]](#footnote-20) Mrauk-U became an independent kingdom in 1531, and finally fell to the Burmese forces led by the Burmese King Bodawpaya in 1784-85.[[21]](#footnote-21) The Rakhine kingdom was officially annexed into Burma, and an estimated 200,000 fled to Chittagong (in present day Bangladesh).[[22]](#footnote-22) The Burmese control over Arakan did not last, and following the First Anglo-Burmese War in 1825, Arakan was annexed into British India. The British shifted the capital of Arakan to Akyab (now known as Sittwe).

## *1.2 British Colonialism (1826 AD - 1948 AD)*

The experience of British colonialism shaped much of Rakhine state into its present-day political realities. Following the annexation of Arakan, a significant number of Muslims migrated to the state from Bengal. The religious and ethnic fabric created by such migration resulted in significant resentment within the Rakhine Buddhist community who blamed their socio-economic problems on the Muslim migrants.[[23]](#footnote-23) The British used a decisive divide-and-rule policy to ensure complete control over the region. By 1942 however, the simmering communal tensions in the state erupted into violence, when the Japanese invasion of Burma caused a significant difference in loyalties among the Rakhine Buddhists and the Muslims.[[24]](#footnote-24) After the end of World War II in 1945, just as Burma prepared to gain independence from the British, a Rakhine Muslim mujahideen rebellion further complicated the relationship between the two communities.[[25]](#footnote-25)

## *1.3 Political Turmoil Post-Independence (1948 AD- Present)*

The post-independence period is marked by two distinct experiences in the history of Rakhine: the Rakhine Muslim mujahideen rebellion; and the 1962 military coup. The Rakhine Muslim mujahideen rebels demanded the right of the Muslim population in northern Rakhine to live as full citizens in an autonomous Muslim zone. This demand was rejected by the newly formed Burmese government, and authorities placed restrictions on the movement of Muslims from the north to Sittwe.[[26]](#footnote-26) The restrictions caused deep resentment among the Muslims rebels, while the Rakhine Buddhists viewed the breakdown of law and order in the state as a matter that must be dealt with strongly by the government.[[27]](#footnote-27) Although the rebellion was ultimately defeated by the Burmese military, the experience permanently altered the personal histories of the local population. In 1961, the government set up the Mayu Frontier Administration in northern Rakhine, and this was also the time around which populations of the Mayu Frontier began to use the word “Rohingya” to describe themselves.[[28]](#footnote-28)

The 1962 military coup, however, put an end to the political violence in the state. It also put an end to Muslim political activity, and the military took on a more hardline stance towards the status of minorities in the country.[[29]](#footnote-29) The Muslims of Rakhine state particularly bore the brunt of prevailing political turmoil during this period. The mass refugee exodus of 1971 and 1992, as well as the government’s decision to establish Buddhist settlements in north Rakhine characterised the crux of Rakhine’s post-independence historical experience in terms of religious and ethnic tensions *(See section V on Conflict for more details)*.

In 1989, the military government of Myanmar renamed Arakan State as ‘Rakhine’.

Following the violent crackdown of student protestors during the 1998 Nationwide Popular Pro-Democracy Protests, and the Burmese military government’s rejection of popular mandate for the NLD in the 1990 elections, Rakhine witnessed greater militarization and Bamar control in a manner similar to that experienced by other regions in Myanmar. In 2008, the new Constitution was adopted by the government through a referendum. It was however, criticised by ethnic leaders in the country (including in Rakhine) as “entrenching Bamar power and authority over the seven ethnic states”,[[30]](#footnote-30) fuelling dissatisfaction over the management of ethnic and local affairs by the central government.

# SECTION TWO: DEMOGRAPHICS

## *2.1 Population*

Rakhine State, like many other parts of Myanmar, is home to a diverse ethnic population. The 2014 Myanmar Population and Housing Census states Rakhine’s total population as 3,188,807 persons (as of 29 March 2014). Of these, 2,098,807 persons were enumerated during the census, while an estimated 1,090,000 persons were not enumerated.[[31]](#footnote-31) The government also estimates that the population of Rakhine has increased by about 56% between the 1983 and 2014 Censuses.[[32]](#footnote-32)

The population of Rakhine ranks 8th in size as compared to other states and regions in Myanmar, behind Magway, Bago, Sagaing, Shan, Mandalay, Ayeyarwady, and Yangon (in that order). As a proportion of the total population of the country, Rakhine has witnessed a slight increase from 5.8% in 1983 to 6.2% in 2014.[[33]](#footnote-33)

## *2.2 Sex*

The male population of the state according to Census data is 1,526,402 (47.87%), while the female population is 1,662,405 (52.13%). Approximately 23.2% of the households in Rakhine are female-headed.[[34]](#footnote-34)

## *2.3 Age Group*

In terms of age group, 31.1% of the population is in the age group of 0-4 years (child), 62.2% of the population is in the age group of 15-64 years (economically productive), and 6.7% of the population is in the age group of 65+ years (elderly). The median age of the population is 26 years.[[35]](#footnote-35)

## *2.4 Urban/Rural*

The demographic spread of the state is largely rural, with only 17% (or 354,288 persons) of the population living in urban areas.[[36]](#footnote-36) The main urban centres of the state according percentage of urban population are: Sittwe (25%), Maungdaw (23%), Thandwe (17.8%), Mrauk-U (13.5%), Kyaukphyu (10.1%).[[37]](#footnote-37)

## *2.5 Internally Displaced Persons*

As of 2016, there are an estimated 118,084 internally displaced people (IDPs) in the state.[[38]](#footnote-38) Moreover, approximately 94,000 refugees and migrants are estimated to have departed from Rakhine state and the border areas of Bangladesh by sea in 2014, fleeing from poverty and communal conflict in the region.[[39]](#footnote-39) The number of departures has fallen since, with an estimated 30,700 people departing from the borders of Myanmar and Bangladesh in 2015.[[40]](#footnote-40)

## *2.6 Ethnicity and Religion*

Around 60% of the population identifies itself as Rakhine Buddhist. Approximately 30% of the population is Muslim, while the remaining 10% comprises of different groups including Chin (who are Buddhist, Christian or animist), Mro, Chakma, Dainet, Maramagri, Kaman (also Muslim), and Khami.[[41]](#footnote-41) Majority of the Muslim population in Rakhine lives in the northern part of the state, concentrated primarily in Maungdaw and Buthidaung townships. In the absence of exact survey figures based on religion however, these numbers are only based on estimates. There are additional difficulties involved in accounting for the Muslim population residing within the state owing to conflict related displacement as well as cross-border migration into neighbouring countries, particularly Bangladesh. The question of citizenship vis-à-vis the Muslim population is discussed later in the section on *Conflict.*

# SECTION THREE: THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT

## *3.1 Poverty*

The 2009-10 Integrated Household Living Conditions Assessment (IHLCA-2) study found a poverty rate of 43.5% in Rakhine, against a rate of 25.6% nationally.[[42]](#footnote-42) However, a more recent study by the World Bank that utilized a different methodology to analyse the same data suggests that the incidence of poverty in Rakhine might be the highest in the country at 78%, against a rate of 37.5% nationally.[[43]](#footnote-43) The methodology used by the World Bank is based on an analysis of IHLCA-2 data, as well as insights from other studies, surveys and reports that are more narrowly focused on different geographic and/or thematic areas.

Two important issues are highlighted by the World Bank in its report[[44]](#footnote-44):

1. It is not possible to make a direct comparison of the incidence of poverty in Myanmar to that in other countries based on the 2005 PPP $1.25/day line due to the lack of reliable price-survey estimates of the 2005 PPP conversion factors for Myanmar.
2. Key socioeconomic indicators such as the incidence of stunting and malnutrition among children show a high incidence of non-income poverty.

It is hoped that the new census data will provide an updated sampling frame that can attend to the limitations and potential biases encountered during the IHLCA-2, especially the lack of reliable survey data collected from conflict-affected areas within the country.

## *3.2 Income Sources*

The population in Rakhine is largely dependent on fishing and agricultural casual labour as the main sources of income. Casual labour accounts for 26% of the income source. The agriculture sector hires the highest number of casual labourers during harvest season, and during the rainy season for land preparation. Fishing also accounts for 26% of the income source, while small non-agricultural businesses account for around 15% of the income source.[[45]](#footnote-45)

In a survey done in Pauktaw, Kyaukpyu, Minbya, and Myebon townships, it was found that 54% of households sold their crops, livestock, aquaculture or fishing products during the 12 months preceding the survey.[[46]](#footnote-46) The proportion, however, was lower for female headed households (27%) as compared to male headed households (58%).[[47]](#footnote-47) The main crop sold in the survey areas was paddy or rice.

Another survey carried out in Northern Rakhine sheds light on the sale of agricultural produce and livestock as important sources of incomes for households. For instance, crop sales account for almost 40% of cash income as a proportion of total income among middle income households in Buthidaung, however livestock sales only account for about 6% of their cash income.[[48]](#footnote-48) On the other hand, livestock sales account for about 16% of cash income among very poor households in Buthidaung, but crop sales account for only about 7%. In Maungdaw, a similar pattern in observed. Crop sales account for a little over 40% of cash income among middle households, but only about 2% among very poor households. On the other hand, livestock sales are negligible among middle income households, but still contribute around 9% among very poor households.[[49]](#footnote-49)

## *3.3 Livelihood Zones*

There are broadly three livelihood zones in Rakhine state[[50]](#footnote-50):

* **Coastal fishing (CFZ)**: located in the coastal lowland of Pauktaw, Myebon and Kyauk Phyu Townships, in areas that border hills and do not have access to much agricultural land. **Capture fishing and fish/shrimp processing, and labour and trade related to these, are the main livelihood activities.**
* **Embankment paddy (EPZ)**: located in embankment-protected lowland plain areas that lie between hills and coastal areas in Pauktaw, Myebon and Kyauk Phyu Townships. **Agriculture, fishing, labour and trade are the main livelihood activities.**
* **Inland agriculture (IAZ)**: located at the base of the Rakhine mountains and borders the Embankment Paddy Livelihood Zone. It is an agricultural zone and cultivation is both on upland and on lowland that is slightly elevated and mostly not protected by embankments. **Agriculture, labour, livestock rearing and trade are the main livelihood activities.**

## *3.4 Average Land Area Owned by Agricultural Households*

The average land area owned by an agricultural household in Rakhine is 4.5 acres.[[51]](#footnote-51)

## *3.5 Landless Rate in Agriculture*

According to IHLCA-2 survey data, the landless rate in agriculture in Rakhine is high, accounting for 24.6% of the population.[[52]](#footnote-52) In the Giri-affected townships of Kyaukpyu, Minbya, Myebon and Pauktaw the landless rate was found to be 52%.[[53]](#footnote-53) The figure increases as we move up to Northern Rakhine, where about 60% of the households are characterised as part of the landless population.[[54]](#footnote-54)

## *3.6 Agricultural Land Usage*

In Rakhine, 85% of agricultural land under cultivation used for rice paddy cultivation. Coconut and nipa palm also important crops.[[55]](#footnote-55) However, only about 30-35% of agricultural farmland was reported to be under cultivation in 2013.[[56]](#footnote-56)

## *3.7 Estimated Net Incomes from 1 Ac of Paddy*

It is estimated that a farmer in Rakhine can earn up to MMK 200,000 annually from one acre of paddy. However, variations exist according to seasonal rainfall patterns, as well as the ability of the farmer to sell the produce at a competitive price.[[57]](#footnote-57)

## *3.8 Unemployment Rate*

Rakhine has the highest unemployment rate (15-64 years) in Myanmar, accounting for 10.4% of the state population.[[58]](#footnote-58) Kayah has the second highest unemployment rate, accounting for 7.5% of the state population. Shan state on the other hand has the lowest unemployment rate at 2% compared to the 4% at national level.[[59]](#footnote-59)

## *3.9 Labour Force Participation Rate*

In Rakhine has the lowest labour force participation rate in Myanmar. Around 58.8% of the population aged 15 years and older is economically active as compared to 67% at the national level. Kayin state comes close, with 60.7% of its population aged 15 years and older being economically active. Shan state performs best on this indicator, with a labour force participation rate of 77.5%.[[60]](#footnote-60)

## *3.10 Migration*

According to census data, 115,502 former conventional household members from Rakhine were living abroad as of 2014.[[61]](#footnote-61) The most frequent destinations for migration from the state are Thailand (74,370 persons) and Malaysia (28,280).[[62]](#footnote-62) Other countries include Singapore, China, Japan, Korea, India, and USA. Almost 41% of respondents (former conventional household members) surveyed during the census reported their duration of residence abroad as between 15 months to 4 years.[[63]](#footnote-63)

Another study conducted in 2013 points towards the types of migration happening in some parts of Rakhine. International migration accounted for 39% of the migrating population, while domestic and seasonal migration accounted for 57% and 4% respectively.[[64]](#footnote-64) A process-tracing exercise done as part of the same study also revealed that social village networks, poor agricultural returns and affordable transport led to an increase in migration.[[65]](#footnote-65)

## *3.11 Emerging Industries*

Although agriculture and fishing continue to dominate economic activity in Rakhine, tourism, oil, and gas are now recognised as emerging industries in the state with the potential to contribute to economic development and increased local employment.[[66]](#footnote-66) However, the control of emerging industries dependent on natural resources such as oil and gas is also source of tension between the local population and the central government, with the former questioning the extent to which such industries will contribute directly to state development.

## *3.12 Special Economic Zone in Kyaukpyu*

In September 2013, the government announced its plan to build a large special economic zone (SEZ) located four miles from Kyaukpyu Township in Rakhine state.[[67]](#footnote-67) The official stance on the project emphasizes the vast socio-economic benefits that the deep sea project will bring to the Kyaukphyu area as well as Rakhine, with its focus on carrying out environmentally sustainable development that will fulfil Myanmar’s potential as a trade corridor between Africa/Middle East and China.[[68]](#footnote-68)

The project however, has been the subject of numerous official delays in the tender selection process, accompanied by local disputes over lack of local oversight and transparency in the process. Following the development of a master plan for the tender process by a Singapore-based consortium led by CPG Consultants[[69]](#footnote-69), phase one of the selection process was initially scheduled to end in December 2014.[[70]](#footnote-70) The announcement of winners however, was delayed to February 2015.[[71]](#footnote-71) It was also reported that local firms had expressed criticism over the lack of domestic competitors in the final round of selection.[[72]](#footnote-72) The announcement was postponed for a second time in early March 2015, with reports of a lack of consensus between the tender committee and some of the foreign bidders.[[73]](#footnote-73)

In December 2015, the government reserved 4289.32 acres of land for the Kyaukpyu SEZ project.[[74]](#footnote-74) It was decided that the zone would comprise of two deep sea ports of 148 hectares and 95 hectares in extent respectively, a 978-hectare industrial zone and a high-end housing project covering 494 hectares.[[75]](#footnote-75)The Regional Master Plan also included a special agricultural zone in Ramree township and a tourism zone centred on the natural environment of Manaung township.[[76]](#footnote-76)The Bid Evaluation and Awarding Committee (BEAC) finally announced the winners of the tender process on 30 December 2015, awarding the tender to build the deep sea ports and industrial zone to a Chinese consortium led by the China International Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC) Construction Company, together with four other Chinese companies and one Thai firm.[[77]](#footnote-77) The tender for the housing project was rejected as the bids did not meet the committee’s requirements.[[78]](#footnote-78) The announcement and associated delays came under criticism, with local protesters demanding that the project be suspended until the new NLD government comes into power.[[79]](#footnote-79)

In early January 2016, local residents in Rakhine lodged complaints with a Kyaukpyu special economic zone committee following the announcement of the winners.[[80]](#footnote-80) Locals have been particularly concerned about the controversial history of Chinese-led development in Myanmar, as well as specific concerns regarding the 70-year long lease that the consortium will have over the land and efforts to keep the long-term interest of the locals in mind.[[81]](#footnote-81)

# SECTION FOUR: THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

## *4.1 Food Security and Nutrition*

*Note on Nutrition Terminology:**This report is based on nutrition statistics from different sources and uses terminology extracted directly from a specific source. For this reason, variations in terminology might arise. Although extensive care has been taken to ensure that such variations are minimised to ensure better comparison, any limitations arising from terminological difference have been highlighted in the footnotes.*

### *4.1.1 Food Insecurity*

The incidence of food insecurity (urban and rural) in Rakhine remains high. A study conducted in four townships affected by Cyclone Giri (Kyaukphyu, Myebon, Minbya, and Pauktaw), found the estimated proportion of food insecure households as 69.8%. Around 49.5% of the surveyed housholds in these townships were found to be moderately food insecure, while 20.3% were severely food insecure.[[82]](#footnote-82)

Similarly, a study conducted in Northern Rakhine revealed that 22% of the households in the region are food secure. However, the share of households classified as severely food insecure increased from 38% in 2009 to 45% in 2011. The incidence of moderate food insecurity was found to be 33%.[[83]](#footnote-83)

The IHLCA-2 also uses ‘food poverty’ as an indicator characterising a level of extreme hardship. It corresponds to the amount required to meet caloric requirements assuming that *all* household income is spent on food.[[84]](#footnote-84) According to data from the IHLCA-2, food poverty affects almost 10% of the population in the state.[[85]](#footnote-85)

### *4.1.2 Causes of Food Insecurity*

Leading causes of food insecurity in the state are low access to agricultural land, and limited purchasing power. This is directly affected by the high rate of landlessness in Rakhine, as well as periods of food shortage experienced during the months of July, August, and September when majority of the households borrow food from either family/friends or shopkeepers on credit.[[86]](#footnote-86)

### *4.1.3 Malnutrition in IDP Camps*

The situation is further compounded by poor living conditions within IDP camps in Rakhine. The severe acute malnutrition (SAM) rate in rural camps in the state stands at 4.5%, whereas the global acute malnutrition (GAM) rate in rural camps stands at 14.4%. The GAM rate in urban camps is 3.1%.[[87]](#footnote-87)

The highest rates of GAM and SAM are reported from Buthidaung (26.5% GAM, 1.7% SAM), and Maungdaw (24.9% GAM, 4.7% SAM.[[88]](#footnote-88)

### *4.1.4 Nutrition and Food Security*

Although reliable local data on the relationship between nutrition and food security is not widely available, a baseline study conducted in 4 townships of Rakhine (Pauktaw, Kyaukpyu, Minbya, and Myebon) reveals an average HDDS (household dietary diversity score) of 5.0 with no significant difference between male and female headed households.[[89]](#footnote-89) Similarly, within the sample townships, 28.7% households had a HDDS score or 7.0 or more.[[90]](#footnote-90) For most households, the months of July, August and September were the months when they were most likely to experience food shortage.[[91]](#footnote-91)

## *4.2 Child Well-being*

The indicators for child well-being in Rakhine present a state level situation that is similar to maternal well-being in terms of challenges faced and infrastructure needed to support the needs of the population. Key indicators such as underweight, stunting, and wasting are often markedly different from the national averages, and conflict-sensitivity compounds overall prospects for children as a vulnerable population in the state.

Stunting has long-term effects on a child’s development and economic potential. Children who get good nutrition in the first 1000 days from conception complete more grades of school and earn up to 21% more as adults. Children who get the right nutrition in the 1000 day ‘window of opportunity’ are 10 times less likely to die of childhood diseases.[[92]](#footnote-92) The Global Nutrition Report states that high levels of stunting can reduce a country’s GNP by 7–11%. Poor nutrition is linked to 45% of child deaths.[[93]](#footnote-93) High rates of stunting and wasting represent one of the most urgent socio-economic challenges confronting Rakhine today.

### *4.2.1 Child Mortality*

According to the UNICEF, in 2013 the under-five mortality rate (per 1000 births) in Rakhine was around 26.9% against 23.6% nationally.[[94]](#footnote-94) The 2014 census data however, states under-5 child mortality as 75 deaths per 1000 live births (7.5%) as compared to 72 deaths per 1000 live births (7.2%) nationally.[[95]](#footnote-95) The exclusion of non-enumerated populations in the census might account for this difference.

### *4.2.2 Malnutrition*

Under-five severe malnutrition in Rakhine is estimated to be 16.3% at the state level as compared to 9.1% nationally.[[96]](#footnote-96)

### *4.2.3 Underweight*

The percentage of children aged 0-59 months with weight for age measured below -2 SD (standard deviation) from the WHO reference standard stands at 37.4% in Rakhine compared to 22.6% nationally.[[97]](#footnote-97)

### *4.2.4 Stunting*

The percentage of children aged 0-59 months with height for age measured below -2 SD from the WHO reference standard stands at 49.9% in Rakhine compared to 35.1% nationally.[[98]](#footnote-98)

### *4.2.5 Wasting*

The percentage of children aged 0-59 months with weight for height measured below -2 SD from the WHO reference standard stands at 10.8% in Rakhine compared to 7.9% nationally.[[99]](#footnote-99)

*Note on Measurement: A figure below -2 SD from the WHO reference standards for weight for age, height for age, and weight for height indicates moderate to severe levels of underweight, stunting, and wasting respectively.*

### *4.2.6 Exclusively Breastfed*

The percentage of children aged 0-5 months who are exclusively breastfed stands at 1.3% in Rakhine (lowest incidence) compared to 23.6% nationally.[[100]](#footnote-100)

### *4.2.7 Immunization*

The percentage of children aged 12-23 months who received DPT3 (diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus) vaccinations is 99.4% in Rakhine and 97.8% nationally, although these figures might only be representative of children who were either born in a health facility or had subsequent access to healthcare.[[101]](#footnote-101)

### *4.2.8 HIV-Testing for Infants*

The percentage of infants born to HIV-positive women receiving a virological test for HIV within 2 months of birth is 6.3% in Rakhine and 9.5% nationally.[[102]](#footnote-102)

### *4.2.9 ART for PMTCT*

The percentage of HIV-positive pregnant women who received antiretroviral drugs to reduce the risk of mother to child transmission of HIV during pregnancy, delivery and breastfeeding stands at 84.2% in Rakhine and 82% nationally.[[103]](#footnote-103)

## *4.3 Maternal Well-being*

Key indicators for maternal well-being in Rakhine perform poorly. However, comparative national statistics reveal a story that is similar to the rest of Myanmar, albeit more challenging.

For instance, the maternal mortality rate (per 1000 births) in Rakhine stands at 1.4% as compared to 1.2% nationally.[[104]](#footnote-104)

### *4.3.1 Ante-Natal Care*

Ante-natal care for pregnant women in Myanmar is an important indicator of maternal well-being. Within this however, there are vast variations between quantity and quality of care provided. The percentage of pregnant women receiving ante-natal care one or more times during pregnancy stands at 88.7% in Rakhine and 93.1% nationally.[[105]](#footnote-105) However, in terms of quality of care, the percentage of pregnant women who had a urine specimen taken during an ante-natal care visit (among other routine antenatal tests recommended for uncomplicated pregnancies) stands at 32.2% in Rakhine as opposed to a 56.9% nationally.[[106]](#footnote-106)

### *4.3.2 Births in Health Facility*

Similarly, the percentage of ever married women aged between 15-49 years of age who delivered in a health facility is 11.7% in Rakhine and 36.2% nationally[[107]](#footnote-107), reflecting a lack of comprehensive maternal health coverage at state as well as national level.

### *4.3.3 HIV-Testing for Pregnant Women*

There is little reliable data on the prevalence of HIV in Rakhine, although data from the Myanmar National AIDS Programme 2012 suggests that the percentage of women attending ante-natal care who tested for HIV and received the result is 20.6% in Rakhine as opposed to 51% nationally.[[108]](#footnote-108)

Overall, the maternal health situation in Rakhine indicates that the state is confronted with challenges in securing a better health infrastructure.

## *4.4 Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH)*

The WHO estimates that up to 50% of undernutrition[[109]](#footnote-109) and 88% of all diarrhoea cases[[110]](#footnote-110) are attributable to unsafe water, inadequate sanitation and inappropriate hygiene practices.

WASH characteristics at the household level in Rakhine indicate poor access to safe drinking water and hygienic sanitation facilities. The state has the highest incidence of open defecation (40.7%) in the country, as opposed to a 7% national average.[[111]](#footnote-111)

### *4.4.1 Population with Access to Improved Water*

The percentage of households using improved water sources stands at 57.7% in Rakhine against 82.3% nationally.[[112]](#footnote-112) Recent census data suggests however that percentage of households using improved drinking water sources stands at only 37.8% in Rakhine.[[113]](#footnote-113)

### *4.4.2 Population with Access to Improved Sanitation*

The percentage of households with access to sanitary means of excreta disposal stands at 48% in Rakhine against 84.6% nationally.[[114]](#footnote-114) Recent census data suggests that the numbers might be lower however, with only 31.8% households in Rakhine having access to improved sanitation.[[115]](#footnote-115)

*\*A more detailed outlook of characteristics related to WASH is also covered in the sub-section on Housing Conditions below.*

## *4.5 Education*

The literacy rate among 15-24 year olds in Rakhine is 80.1% as compared to the national average of 95.8%.[[116]](#footnote-116) The state however, continues to have the lowest literacy rate in the country, followed by Shan at 89.7%, while the highest literacy rate is found in Sagaing and Kayah at 98.8%.[[117]](#footnote-117) Recent census data suggests that the literacy rate among persons aged 15 years and over in the state is 84.7% (92.2% male, and 78.7% female).[[118]](#footnote-118) However, a social indicator such as education has various aspects to it. In the regional context of Rakhine, availability, access, and quality represent a set of separate but interconnected issues.

### *4.5.1 Availability*

In terms of availability, one recent survey conducted among 2,342 people across 10 townships from all five districts in Rakhine revealed that education is reported as widely available.[[119]](#footnote-119) The survey report states that more than 95% respondents said that some form of education is available in their ward or village. These findings were consistent across all ten townships, with 89% of the respondents in each township saying that there was a school in their ward or village.[[120]](#footnote-120) The overall net enrollment rate stands at 71.4% at the primary school level, and 32% at the secondary school level.[[121]](#footnote-121) However, religious and ethnic differences in access and quality still remain.

### *4.5.2 Access*

In terms of access, 92% of Rakhine report having access to a government school in the state, whereas only 63% of Muslims report having the same.[[122]](#footnote-122) Muslims report greater reliance on community schools (17%), schools run by international organizations or NGOs (9%) or religious institutions (6%).[[123]](#footnote-123) Around 70% of Rakhine and 81% Muslims (including Muslims in camps) report sending their children to school, though some variation is visible by township.[[124]](#footnote-124) Limited access to high school education is also reported by other minorities in Rakhine, particularly by the Chin people because the government provides only one high school for the main village tract in the Chin dominated areas.[[125]](#footnote-125) It is worth noting that lack of access to higher education is a major concern for Muslims living in Rakhine. Since 2000, perceived discrimination and practical restrictions on freedom of movement have resulted in Muslims being unable to attend government run technical vocational education and training (TVET) schools as well as university in or outside of Rakhine.[[126]](#footnote-126)

### *4.5.3 Quality*

In terms of quality, access to teachers is cited as the main area of concern. Overall, 56% residents from the surveyed areas report having adequate access to teachers.[[127]](#footnote-127) There are slight variations however, with 62% of Rakhine, 55% of Muslims, and 46% of camp residents report having adequate access to teachers.[[128]](#footnote-128)

Nevertheless, progress has been made in expanding the forms of education available to the population, including government schools, community schools, religious institutions, temporary learning centres (26 TLCs in 18 townships constructed by UNICEF, and 8 TLCs constructed by the government), non-formal primary education schemes, and life skills education for adolescents.[[129]](#footnote-129)

The overall matriculation rate remains low in Rakhine, although there has been a 5% increase from 18% in the 2013/14 academic year to 23.13% in the 2014/15 academic year.[[130]](#footnote-130)

## *4.6 Housing Conditions*

Housing conditions and infrastructure in Rakhine remains largely underdeveloped in comparison to the rest of the country. Access to electricity, energy sources of cooking and lighting, improved water, and improved sanitation facilities are the key areas of concern.

### *4.6.1 Access to Electricity*

According to the IHLCA-2, 26.4% of the population in Rakhine has access to electricity as compared to 48.8% nationally (although no new figures are available on access to electricity, the patterns of electrification in the state are known to have improved significantly, especially in urban areas, since 2009-10).[[131]](#footnote-131) In terms of poverty status, 7.4% of the poor and 37.4% of the non-poor population in Rakhine has access to electricity.[[132]](#footnote-132) There are similar variations according to strata, with 76.7% of urban population and 11.5% of rural population having access.[[133]](#footnote-133)

### *4.6.2 Main Sources of Energy for Cooking*

In Rakhine, the main sources of energy for cooking are firewood (88.9%), charcoal (7.7%), electricity (1.4%), kerosene (1%), other (0.7%), coal (0.3%), LPG (less than 0.1%), and biogas (less than 0.1%).[[134]](#footnote-134)

### *4.6.3 Main Sources of Energy for Lighting*

The main sources of energy for lighting are candle (59%), electricity (12.8%), kerosene (11.8%), private generator (8.9%), battery (3.8%), solar energy (3.2%), other (0.3%), and private water mill (0.2%).[[135]](#footnote-135)

### *4.6.4 Main Sources of Drinking Water*

The main sources of improved drinking water are protected well/spring (28.6%), tap water/piped (5%), tube well, borehole (3.4%), and bottled/purified water (0.8%).[[136]](#footnote-136)

The main sources of unimproved drinking water are pool/pond/lake (50.3%), unprotected well/spring (5.5%), river/stream/canal (3.9%), waterfall/rainwater (1.8%), and other (0.7%).[[137]](#footnote-137)

### *4.6.5 Main Sources of Water for Non-Drinking Use*

The main sources of water for non-drinking use are pool/pond/lake (49.8%), protected well/spring (24.9%), river/stream/canal (6.8%), tap water/piped (6.1%), unprotected well/spring (5.5%), tube well, borehole (4.4%), waterfall/rainwater (1.8%), bottled/purified water (less than 0.1%), and other (0.7%).[[138]](#footnote-138)

### *4.6.6 Types of Toilet*

According to census data, improved sanitation facilities (31.8%) include water seal improved pit latrine (31.2%) and flush (0.6%).[[139]](#footnote-139)

Unimproved facilities (68.2%) include no sanitary facilities (62.9%), bucket or surface latrine (2.9%), traditional pit latrine (1.4%), and other (1%).[[140]](#footnote-140)

# SECTION FIVE: CONFLICT

## *5.1 A Brief History*

The history of conflict in Rakhine has been described as fuelled by a “toxic mixture of historical centre-periphery tensions, serious intercommunal and inter-religious conflict with minority Muslim communities, and extreme poverty and under-development.”[[141]](#footnote-141) Historically, relations between the Rakhine and Muslim communities have been difficult, with the former viewing the latter as a threat to their identity. The tensions, however, need to be understood in the broader historical experience of Myanmar. It has been recognised that “the grievances of the Rakhine are similar to those of Myanmar’s other ethnic minorities - including longstanding discrimination by the state, a lack of political control over their own affairs, economic marginalisation, human rights abuses, and restrictions on language and cultural expression.”[[142]](#footnote-142) The strong, continued influence of the Sangha (Buddhist monks, considered veteran members of Burmese society) over various aspects of political and non-political life in Myanmar is especially relevant in this regard.

The Muslims from Rakhine are considered descendants of Moorish, Persian and Arab traders who arrived around the 9th century, and settled with the local populations.[[143]](#footnote-143) Up until World War II there was little evidence of tension and/or conflict between the Buddhist and Muslim communities in Rakhine itself,[[144]](#footnote-144) although the earliest documented incident of communal clashes prior to independence is said to have occurred in Yangon in 1938.[[145]](#footnote-145) However, the Japanese invasion of Burma in 1942 is believed to have sparked serious inter-communal tensions in Rakhine, with the Rakhine Buddhists lending support to the Japanese while the minority Muslims continued to remain loyal to the British.[[146]](#footnote-146)

The experience of British colonialism has much to do with the present day sentiment that runs deep in the relationship between the Buddhists and Muslims of Rakhine. After the conclusion of the First Anglo-Burmese War in 1826, the freedom of entry and movement allowed to Indian nationals in Burma led to the eventual socialization of inter-communal competitiveness heavily derived from conceptions of economic opportunity and social advantage.[[147]](#footnote-147)The independence of Burma from the British in 1948 brought little resolution or respite for either side, and the onset of Burmese authoritarian rule in 1962 only served to strengthen the communal rhetoric in Rakhine.

### *5.1.1 Post-1948*

The post-independence chronology of religious persecution in Rakhine state can be traced back to the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971, when large-scale migration into Myanmar coincided with the creation of the Arakan (now Rakhine) state in 1974.[[148]](#footnote-148) This was followed by the “1978 exodus”. In 1978, the then ruling Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) began the Naga Min (Dragon King) campaign with the ostensible aim of ensuring that illegal migrants living in the country without proper paperwork left immediately. A few estimates suggest that during the campaign, almost 200,000 Muslims were driven out of Rakhine state into the neighbouring state of Bangladesh.[[149]](#footnote-149)

The new Citizenship Law passed in 1982 created a distinction between ethnic nationalities and foreign citizens. The passage of the new law sealed the fate of a majority of Muslims in Myanmar (especially Rakhine), as it refused to recognise them as citizens of the country unless they provided documentation that proves that their families settled in the country prior to 1948.[[150]](#footnote-150) The law however, did recognise the Kaman Muslims as an ethnic nationality, but they accounted for a very small proportion of the larger Muslim population in the country.

A decade later, there was a resurgence of mass migration into Bangladesh during the “1991-92 refugee exodus” from Rakhine state. Refugees are said to have described large-scale abuses of human rights by the Burmese military in northern Rakhine, and some observers have also suggested that the anti-Muslim campaigns were rooted in the military government’s desire to use the already existing tensions between the two communities to distract the Buddhist Burman population from the political excesses being committed by the military in the rest of the country.[[151]](#footnote-151) *(For further reading on the interplay between religion and politics, particularly the role of Temporary Registration Cards (TRCs) in Rakhine state elections and census mapping, see reports by ICG and CDNH.)*

### *5.1.2 The Na Ta La Scheme*

In the early 1990s, the Ministry of Progress of Border Areas, National Races and Development (also known as *Na Ta La*) was put in charge of executing a new resettlement scheme initiated by the government. In a bid to control the Muslim-dominated periphery areas of the country, particularly in northern Rakhine state, the government decided to shift Buddhist communities from the central areas of Myanmar to the more remote areas of the northwest.[[152]](#footnote-152) The populations transferred mostly consisted of prisoners who were offered an early release in exchange for their agreement to settle in newly built *Na Ta La* model villages, as well as homeless people from cities such as Yangon and Mandalay.[[153]](#footnote-153) The model villages were surrounded by paddy fields, and those who took up the offer were also offered houses, a monthly supply of essential supplies, and in some cases an additional one-time compensatory payment. It is widely speculated that the model villages were constructed on land seized from the migrant Muslim inhabitants of the state.[[154]](#footnote-154)

The *Na Ta La* village project has been viewed by international observers as a systematic attempt by the Burmese military government to tackle the rapid settlement of migrants in northern Rakhine state, which is viewed as a direct threat to the aim of national consolidation. The model villages were subsequently also offered to the Rakhine communities seeking to return back to Myanmar from the border areas of Bangladesh, in order to substantially increase the concentration of Buddhist and Bamar populations in the region.[[155]](#footnote-155)

## *5.2 Outbreak of Riots in 2012*

In June and October 2012, two major episodes of communal violence broke out in Rakhine. The first bout of violence occurred between 28 May and 28 June, 2012 after the gangrape and murder of an ethnic Rakhine woman by a group of Muslim men close to a village in Ramree township.[[156]](#footnote-156) The culprits were arrested, and the case was on its way to being dealt with by the law.[[157]](#footnote-157) The murder of a group of ten Muslim men by a group of Rakhine in the township of Taunggyoke in Thandwe district, however, triggered various episodes of violent clashes across the state.[[158]](#footnote-158) Throughout the month of June 2012, the violence spread from the Muslim dominated township of Maungdaw, to the state capital of Sittwe where Muslim and Rakhine houses and religious sites were burnt. By the end of June, government figures estimated that 98 people were killed and 123 injured, both Muslim and Rakhine. Around 5,338 homes were destroyed and 75,000 people were displaced.[[159]](#footnote-159)

A second wave of violence erupted again in October 2012, during which Muslim citizens and the Muslim ethnic Kaman community (a recognised nationality of Myanmar) were also targeted leading to a serious escalation of conflict within the state. Government estimates suggested that 94 people were killed and 124 injured, while 3,276 homes were burned. Around 32,000 people were displaced, mostly Muslim, although 42 Rakhine Buddhist houses were also destroyed during the violence.[[160]](#footnote-160) Further incidents of violence were also reported between Rakhine and Kaman Muslims in Thandwe Township in October 2013, and in Maungdaw in January 2014.[[161]](#footnote-161)

## *5.3 Internal Displacement*

More than 100,000 people were left homeless and internally displaced after the violence of June and October 2012.[[162]](#footnote-162) The Muslim populations were pushed into IDP camps and forced to live in temporary shelters constructed by international relief agencies and the government.[[163]](#footnote-163) At present, the inhabitants of these camps face severe restrictions on their freedom of movement, being denied permission to enter and/or return to the areas within the state which are currently inhabited by ethnic Rakhine populations.[[164]](#footnote-164)

There are around 68 IDP camps in Rakhine today, housing a majority of the Muslim population. Close to 100,000 of the IDPs live in camps around the town of Sittwe.[[165]](#footnote-165)

## *5.4 Violence in 2014*

In February 2014, the international relief agency Medecins Sans Frontiers (MSF) was asked to suspend its operation in Rakhine by the government following allegations of bias in the extension of humanitarian medical services to populations within the state.[[166]](#footnote-166) This was followed by an incident of violence on 26-27 March when international humanitarian agencies in Sittwe were attacked by an ethnic Rakhine mob prompting the evacuation of over 300 humanitarian workers from the city. The overall damage caused by the mob violence was estimated to be over $1 million.[[167]](#footnote-167)

The attacks came immediately after an international staff member of an aid agency reportedly removed a Buddhist flag from the organisation’s office premises, sparking rumours that she had handled the flag in a “disrespectful manner”. The official investigation into the violence found the rumour to be untrue, however the incident marked the conclusion of a long period of tensions between the local ethnic Rakhine community and the foreign agencies, with the former boycotting the latter’s attempts to conduct a census over questions of how ethnicity would be recorded in it as well as fears that it might allow Muslim inhabitants to self-identify as citizens.[[168]](#footnote-168)

The violence halted humanitarian aid operation in Rakhine for one month and impacted the displaced as well as vulnerable populations in the state, particularly in and around Sittwe. MSF was invited to return to the state by the government in July 2014, and since then most international agencies have resumed operations, although the needs of the people remain unmatched by the scale of humanitarian access.[[169]](#footnote-169)

## *5.5 Chronology of Conflict in 2012 and 2014*

The following table has been developed using different sources, including news reports and publications cited across this section:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Date** | **Event** | **Place** |
| 28 May, 2012 | An ethnic Rakhine woman is raped and murdered by a group of Muslim men near Ramree township | Ramree township, Kyaukpyu district |
| 3 June, 2012 | A mob of ethnic Rakhine men attack a bus in Taunggyoke, killing ten Muslims | Taunggyoke township,  Thandwe district |
| 8 June, 2012 | A mob of Muslims ignites several Rakhine houses in a village in Maungdaw, riots spread to other areas in the township | Maungdaw Township, Maungdaw district |
| 9 June, 2012 | Riots continue in Maungdaw, spreading to Buthidaung township. Hundreds of Muslim and Rakhine households displaced | Maungdaw district |
| 10 June, 2012 | State of emergency declared in Rakhine, military given administrative control | Across all 5 districts of Rakhine |
| 12-14 June, 2012 | Violence spreads in Sittwe town, Muslim houses and mosques burned | Sittwe town, Sittwe district |
| 15-28 June, 2012 | Incidents of violence continue, and situation stabilizes towards the end of June; 10 UNHCR workers arrested by government for “stimulating the riots” | Across all 5 districts of Rakhine, concentrated around Maungdaw and Sittwe |
| October 2013 | Violence between Rakhine and Kaman Muslims | Thandwe township |
| January 2014 | Violence between Rakhine and Kaman Muslims | Maungdaw township |
| 28 Feb, 2014 | Medecins Sans Frontiers (MSF) asked to leave Myanmar by government | Rakhine, Yangon |
| 26-27 March, 2014 | A mob of ethnic Rakhine attacks premises of international aid agencies in Sittwe following rumour of international aid worker mishandling Buddhist flag | Sittwe town, Sittwe district |
| 27-30 March, 2014 | Foreign aid workers evacuated from in and around Sittwe | Sittwe district |
| July 2014 | MSF invited back to Rakhine by government | Rakhine, Yangon |
| September 2014 | Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed between MSF and govt.; international humanitarian access resumes in Rakhine | Rakhine, Yangon |

# MAP OF RAKHINE STATE BY DISTRICTS AND TOWNSHIPS



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